The subsiding sizzle of advertising history

Methodological and theoretical challenges in the post advertising age

Stefan Schwarzkopf
Department of Management, Politics, Philosophy and History, Copenhagen Business School, Frederiksberg, Denmark

Abstract

Purpose – This paper aims to provide an overview over the development of historical research into advertising from the early twentieth century. Its main purposes are to interest marketing scholars and business historians in the history of advertising, help scholars that are unfamiliar with the field in choosing an appropriate theoretical and methodological angle, and provide a critique of a range of methods and theoretical approaches being applied in advertising historical research.

Design/methodology/approach – The research design of this paper is based on historiographical analysis and method critique. It surveys the advertising historical literature of the three decades between 1980 and 2010, and it compares and contrasts dominant research methodologies and theoretical paradigms that have been used by historians and advertising researchers.

Findings – Much advertising historical research is based on a specific set of theoretical paradigms ("Modernization", "Americanization", and "Semiotics"), without being aware of the manifest impact they have on the narratives and understandings that historians create. Identifying these paradigms and outlining their impact will help marketing historians and advertising researchers to avoid the pitfalls associated with particular paradigms.

Originality/value – This paper subjects the modern historiography of advertising to a methodological and narratological analysis. It uses this analysis to propose new and somewhat more critical directions in advertising historical research.

Keywords Methodology, Narratology, Semiotics, Marketing history, Advertising research, History of ideas, Creative thinking, Advertising, Narratives

Paper type Research paper

> "I had read fragments of Hegel's philosophy and had found its grotesque, craggy melody unpleasing." Karl Marx in a letter to his father, 1837 (Raines, 2002, p. 25)

Introduction

This article provides a review of major advertising historical research published over the last three decades and discusses various theoretical and methodological approaches to the history of advertising. In doing so, the article presents two arguments regarding the state that advertising history as a research field finds itself in today. First, I argue that most advertising histories show signs of a clandestine influence of Hegelian philosophy of history. For the German philosopher Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel, history was made up of monumental cultural-political formations which dialectically competed with and superseded each other in the course of world history ("oligarchy" *versus* "monarchy"; Greek-Roman classicism followed by

Journal of Historical Research in Marketing
Vol. 3 No. 4, 2011
pp. 528-548

1755-750X
DOI 10.1108/17557501111183653

the Middle Ages, etc.). Each of these formations followed on from their predecessor and they were shaped by a "spirit" (*Weltgeist*), whose direction through world history led at each stage to ever greater human self-consciousness and consciousness of freedom. Hegel saw great men with great visions as main drivers of historical change, as their lives and works helped bring the essential "spirit" of the time to the fore. Nations whose history did not seem to follow this plan, whose history was not shaped by "great men" and great institutions, nations that seemed largely unchanged over time and failed to build state institutions, like the peoples of Africa, South-East Asia or the indigenous peoples of North America were, thus, "without history" or "history-less" (*geschichtslose Völker*) (Hegel, 1969/1830, p. 426; Hegel, 1985/1830, pp. 22, 77).

This influence, I argue, has led to a bias among many advertising historians to present the twentieth century as an era of unprecedented levels of influence of commercial communication on politics, culture and society. As a shorthand term for this entirely new stage in the development of the Western world, advertising historians came to privilege the term "modernity", and the dominant consciousness through which this new age expressed itself was that of "consumerism" and "the consumer culture". Ironically, this modernist bias meant that advertising historians often ignored the deeply historical nature of their subject. They also tended to tie themselves to the idea of a grand "modern project" as the origin of "modern" advertising. In their eagerness to identify the link between advertising, modernity and the new consumer culture, advertising historians failed to notice that their narratives merely promoted the self-created professional identity of the early advertising industry, which tried to make the world believe that the logic of history had taken it into an "Advertising Age"[1].

Secondly, the Hegelian baggage in the historiography of advertising is acerbated by a lack of engagement by historians in general with the work of economists, sociologists, consumer researchers and marketing theorists – and vice versa. Scholars working at sociology departments, media studies departments and business schools, where a lot of advertising historical research is conducted, have not sufficiently engaged with the wealth of material that historians of marketing practices have produced[2]. Reversely, scholars trained in the classical methods of historical research have largely failed to engage with theoretical innovations coming from the social sciences, including marketing theory. The result of this trend of mutual ignorance is that the history of advertising, once a vividly researched subject area, is today in danger of reaching a dead end.

The origins of advertising historiography

Perhaps the first history of advertising ever written was Henry Sampson's *A History of Advertising from the Earliest Times*, published in London in 1874. About two generations later, in 1929, Frank Presbrey published his monumental *The History and Development of Advertising* with Doubleday in New York (Sampson, 1874; Presbrey, 1929). For the purpose of this article, it is worth dwelling for a moment on the story behind these two historical studies. Sampson was an English journalist, newspaper proprietor and editor, who contributed to the making of popular entertainment and sports journalism in Britain at a time when London was the world's most concentrated and most competitive newspaper market. Presbrey was an American advertising man who conducted major publicity campaigns for the insurance industry. According to the

American Advertising Federation's "Hall of Fame", Presbrey is credited with having initiated the formation of the Advertising Agents' Association, which later became the American Association of Advertising Agencies. Sampson and Presbrey, both of whom, albeit for different reasons, relied on advertising for their income, were influenced by the idea to use history as a way of creating legitimacy for advertising at a time when the industry was associated with the negative image of puffery and dishonesty (Pope, 1983, pp. 186-193).

Unsurprisingly, both authors therefore structured their historical investigations around the theme of presenting advertising as an age-old and most intriguing form of commercial communication. Both began their histories with Babylonian trademarks, sales messages on walls in the Roman Empire, and carried right through to the town-criers and sign-makers of medieval European cities, thus creating a coherent historical narrative that saw their own "advertising age" as the culmination of a 3,000-year-old process of gradual change and progressive improvement. In the words of Presbrey: "There are those who will question that anything as modern as we consider advertising to be has a history; yet the facts show that it not only has a history but that it is an interesting chronicle. Advertising as we know it is new in its aspects, but its ideas and its objects are as old as the human race. Advertising really has two histories. The history of advertising as we know it today dates from yesterday. The history of advertising in all its forms harks back through the ages and into the haze that hides the beginning of humanity" (Presbrey, 1929, p. 1).

Both Sampson's and Presbrey's work shows that advertising as an industry and aesthetic form became historicized well before the period that most authors would associate with the emergence of advertising in any contemporary sense. Neither Sampson's nor Presbrey's historical work would give readers today any insight into the emergence of advertising psychology, consumer research, the rising influence of professional graphic designers on advertising creation, the rise of magazine advertising, the arrival of radio and television advertising, the development of media and account planning, the coming of international advertising campaigns, and the role of multinationals in the advertising industry. Sampson's and Presbrey's historiographical work thus provides reasons to think again about how advertising history is written, for what purpose, and why about ninety percent of all advertising history published today merely focuses on the period after Sampson and Presbrey had penned their beautiful prose.

There are, of course, historians whose work proves to be an exception to that rule. Famously, Dr Samuel Johnson already declared in 1759 that the trade of advertising was "so near to perfection that it is not easy to propose any improvement", and he warned that future historians would one day come across the advertisements of his age and find them full of "numberless contradictions" (Johnson, 1759; Woodruff, 1979). Sociologists and historians like Liz McFall (2004a), Maxine Berg (Berg and Clifford (2007)), Karl Robert Keyes (2008), and Jeffrey Wigelsworth (2010) are among those who have taken Dr Johnson's assessment closer to their hearts. In their work, they show that unsuspecting consumers of fashion and luxury goods during the eighteenth century, and life insurance products during the nineteenth century were exposed to modes of industrialised persuasion, which in terms of substance, content, technique and direction remained largely unchanged until well into the twentieth century. These authors are, however, largely an exception to a number of invisible rules which have

led the field to subscribe to a particular set of paradigms and historical narratives that have made Dr. Johnson's insight look amusing and naïve. The vast majority of advertising history written today is characterised by deeply internalised methodological-theoretical norms and driven by grand narratives that are based on precisely three paradigms: Modernization, Americanization, and the idea that Semiotics enables the deconstruction of persuasion in the modern age.

The "Modernization" paradigm

Advertising as a subject of historical research lay largely dormant between the interwar years, which had seen a number of historical monographs (Presbrey, 1929; Hower, 1939), and the early 1980s. Although some research seems to have been conducted during the 1950s, there was no sustained interest among historians and marketing scholars in this subject (Leachman, 1950; Turner, 1952; Wood, 1958). A whole spate of investigations into the history of advertising in America and the United Kingdom, which appeared between 1982 and 1985, changed what had manifestly become a tradition of neglect among historians. Some of these publications stood out and quickly formed a nucleus of scholarship to which other historians connected their work. We are, of course, talking about Terrence Nevett's, 1982 *Advertising in Britain*, Daniel Pope's, 1983 *The Making of Modern Advertising*, Stephen Fox's, 1984 *The Mirror Makers*, and Roland Marchand's, 1985 *Advertising the American Dream*.

At the same time – if not earlier – scholars at North American business schools became interested in the history and the long-term social impact of advertising communication. Richard Pollay of the University of British Columbia, who already by the mid-1970s had begun too investigate advertising's social and cultural roots, called upon fellow researchers to pay more attention to the historical background of advertising practices (Pollay, 1978, 1979, pp. 5-14). Pollay's own work then resulted in 1985 and 1986 in three landmark articles that appeared in the *Journal of Consumer Research* (Belk and Pollay, 1985) and the *Journal of Marketing*, respectively (Pollay, 1985; Pollay, 1986). Also in 1985 appeared a series of reprints of early texts on advertising practice and research by the NYU Stern School marketing professors C. Samuel Craig and Henry Assael[3]. Craig and Assael selected forty research monographs and handbooks published between 1900 and the 1950s that had become difficult to obtain, and made them available again, often with a short editorial introduction. Among them were Warren Dygert's 1939 *Radio as an Advertising Medium*, John Caples' 1938 *Advertising Ideas*, Otto Kleppner's 1937 *Advertising Procedure*, Floyd Keeler's and Albert Haase's 1937 handbook *The Advertising Agency*, and Earnest Elmo Calkin's and Ralph Holden's classic text *Modern Advertising* from 1905.

The sudden upsurge in scholarly interest in the history of advertising, however, also marked the separation of the field into very different theoretical traditions, as well as the arrival of what I call the "modernist" paradigm. While historical sociologists like Michael Schudson (1984) began to sound warnings about the increasing vilification of advertising, his call for nuanced and long-term analysis was largely ignored in favour of a viewpoint that identified advertising as a powerful shaper of what came to be understood as the "modern consciousness". Unlike previous periods, the collective consciousness of this age saw ownership and consumption of material goods as an end in itself. Unwittingly reintroducing a deeply Hegelian philosophy of history, most

advertising historians of the 1980s and 1990s saw advertising as a force through which the manipulative and consumerist identity of the modern age crafted itself onto world history. As an aid to the identification of this consciousness, content analysis came heavily to be relied upon in the pursuit of giving a "history-less" advertising industry its own history (Marchand, 1985, pp. 165-67, 206-34).

This approach enabled historians to find a "grand narrative" in the history of advertising, which in turn allowed them to establish advertising history as a legitimate subject within the canon of historical and advertising research, respectively. By virtue of that narrative, advertising men became "apostles of modernity" and the "most modern of men", who single-handedly created a "modern logic of living" (Marchand, 1985, pp. 1, 233-34). The advertising industry came to be seen as populated by powerful "captains of consciousness" (Ewen, 1976), whose creations reflected and shaped the culture of the age (Fox, 1984), whose strategies helped "making way for modernity" (Marchand, 1985), whose ideologies helped "selling modernity" (Swett *et al.*, 2007), establish the idea of progress (Laird, 1998), and whose very existence showcased the disenchanted, rationalist and consumerist mindset of the age (Lears, 1994). Jeffrey Cruikshank and Arthur Schultz recently expressed this viewpoint most succinctly when they argued that the twentieth century was nothing less than an "advertising century" and that single influential advertising men like Albert D. Lasker made this happen (Cruikshank and Schultz, 2010). Once advertising had become implicated in the "making of modernity", all that was associated with this new age – good or bad – could therefore somehow be traced back to advertising campaigns. In his work on the uses of African racial stereotypes in German advertising around the turn of the twentieth century, David Ciarlo recently argued that this type of commercial imagery had far-reaching consequences for the racialization of German politics in the run-up to the Third Reich. Says Ciarlo: "The visual realm shaped the worldview of the colonial rulers, illuminated the importance of commodities, and in the process, drew a path to German modernity. The powerful vision of racial difference at the core of this modernity would have profound consequences for the future" (Ciarlo, 2011, book-cover and pp. 315-24).

Naturally, all aspects of twentieth-century advertising seemed to point in the same direction of an industry whose project it was to shape a modern consumer era and an "advertising century" at all costs: as the industry turned to psychology and other social sciences (Kreshel, 1990), it became a hand-maiden in the emergence of modern, mediated lifestyles and consumption-oriented gender roles (Davis, 2006; Parkin, 2006; Scanlon, 1995) that largely relied on mass-produced and mass-marketed products (Schorman, 2010; Strasser, 2004). According to Jackson Lears, advertising presented these products as a means to assuage modern anxieties about the self, by that spreading "a new way of life" (Lears, 1983, p. 4).

Many scholars outside the American context tended to emulate the trend to employ "modernity" and the idea of advertisers as "missionaries of global consumer culture" as a grand narrative in order to make sense of the development of their respective national advertising histories (Arvidsson, 2003; Schug, 2005). Although most of these authors stayed clear of applying Weberian and Foucauldian frameworks with the same consistency as, say, T.J. Jackson Lears (1994), the general framework of the modernization paradigm remained the same in the non-American scholarship on advertising history. What mattered to most authors quoted here was the question

when and how advertising strategies, designs, industry structures, the agency system, professional identities, and so forth, "really" became "modern". Modes of commercial persuasion employed before the 1880s hardly featured within this body of literature[4].

Aspects of the material and social history of advertising which did not fit into the parameters of this paradigm, like the advertising agents of the early nineteenth century, the advertisements, handbills, and show-cards of the eighteenth century, and advertising communication structures outside the West-European and North American hemispheres, either received scant attention or were interpreted in a teleological sense as the precursors to the system of the late twentieth century (Nevett, 1977). In other words, although often very critical and at times even dismissive of advertising as industry and aesthetic form, most scholars saw advertising as it emerged during the decades of classical modernity (1890s-1930s) as the pinnacle of "our age", which in and through advertising communication realized the consumerist spirit of late capitalism, thus coming to itself.

This modernist bias is particularly prominent in the historical writings of advertising industry representatives themselves, who see the history of their own professional practices often as shaped by "great men", great campaigns and events that mark "epochs" and "watersheds" in advertising (Cruikshank and Schultz, 2010; Fletcher, 2008, p. 7; Pincas and Loiseau, 2006; Roman, 2009). One of these great historical markers offered repeatedly as a sense-making narrative element is that of the "creative revolution" which apparently occurred during the 1960s (Frank, 1997; Reid *et al.*, 1998; Tungate, 2007, pp. 49-64). The construction of such grand markers and epochs actually de-historicizes advertising before the 1960s by declaring "modern" advertising design in normative terms as radically different and completely unconnected to designs and aesthetic norms that had been in circulation before[5].

It is important to note here that historians are of course well-served by focussing on large-scale shifts in advertising ideologies, techniques and industry practices, which doubtlessly occurred between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries. By socially, culturally and politically contextualizing these shifts, an analysis of the advertising industry's past has the chance to engage in critical encounters with an industry that contributed more than its fair share to the shaping of political and social structures during the twentieth century (Fones-Wolf, 1994, pp. 51-53; Schwarzkopf, 2005; Stole, 2006, pp. 21-48; Stoltzfus, 2007). That this process of shaping our way of life took place in the form of advertisements somehow "making the modern Self", however, is something that historians might need to reflect on a lot more critically.

The "Americanization" paradigm

In many ways a sub-version of the narrative of modernization, the paradigm of "Americanization" suggests that modern advertising as we know it today was not only first developed in the United States, but was also exported to the rest of the world through processes that resemble cultural Imperialism (de Grazia, 2005; De Iulio and Vinti, 2009; Sutton, 2009; Schröter, 1998). There can be no doubt that the American advertising industry, its standards of professionalism, its remuneration structure (the 15 per cent commission system), and its belief in "scientific" evidence, had a profound impact on the changes that the European advertising industry underwent during the twentieth century. What is remarkable, however, is the ease with which many historians of advertising cast aside some very basic rules of historical methodology,

including balance and scepticism, use of a wide range of primary and secondary sources, critical assessment of statements made by contemporaries, assessment of the reliability of evidence etc., in favour of a grand narrative which mainly looked at one side of the mutual cultural and economic exchange processes that the American advertising industry was subject to (Howell and Prevenier, 2001, pp. 60-79; Bernheim, 1908, pp. 185-89, 508-510). Adherents of the "Americanization" paradigm largely ignore the historical and sociological processes through which elements of early nineteenth-century European commercial culture, such as the advertising agent system, advertising-funded print media, and the "commodity spectacle" inherent in advertising (Richards, 1991) helped shape American society in the first place. They also tend to ignore how, from the 1970s onwards, the British, the Japanese and then the French advertising industries first bought large stakes in American advertising agencies and then challenged the creative and communicative norms promoted by the American advertising industry (Schwarzkopf, 2007a; Schwarzkopf, 2007b).

Today, the world's top online advertising agencies are all based in and around Stockholm, London and Amsterdam, and not in Chicago or New York (Broberg *et al.*, 2011). Of the ten largest advertising agencies and marketing communication groups, which today control global advertising budgets, only two are based in the United States (Omnicom and Interpublic), with the remainder organizing global marketing communications from London (WPP, Aegis), Paris (Publicis, Havas), and Tokyo (Dentsu, Hakuhodo, Asatsu). The world's largest marketing communications company today, the WPP group, which owns a staggering portfolio of over 300 advertising agencies, PR agencies, market research companies, direct marketing companies, media buying companies, and social media, interactive and search-engine agencies worldwide, is a British company and headed by a Knight of the Realm, Sir Martin Sorrell (Grabher, 2001; WPP, 2011). WPP's biggest advertising budgets have long left Boston, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles, and moved to Mumbai and Shanghai. More and more historians are puzzled how these facts can be explained through the paradigm of "Americanization" (Hoganson, 2006).

The eagerness with which some historians pursue the fiction of "Americanization" becomes more understandable if one interprets this narrative, together with "Modernization", as part of an overall philosophical framing of the history of advertising. Within this framework, which shares key elements with Hegel's philosophy of history, "America" is talked up by historians into the embodiment of a new stage in the development of humanity, a stage dominated by modern consumer capitalism. With the takeover of European culture by the American advertising industry, thus goes the story, history had finally arrived at the level of a globally shared consumerist consciousness. This narrative, of course, only works if one ignores the manifest evidence on trans-Atlantic and European social and cultural history. Many accounts of the "Americanization" of advertising create a narrative which puts the United States at the centre of twentieth-century history, a centre from which all innovation flows forth. Within such a narrative, but only there, it becomes possible to believe – as Victoria de Grazia apparently does – that there were no advertising agencies in Europe before the late 1920s and that modern advertising was thus imported to Europe as an "altogether new industry" (de Grazia, 2007, p. xiv). Against this limited view, Sarah Howard's work on the interwar French advertising industry has demonstrated the immense insights historians can create by analysing European

advertising cultures on their own terms rather than through the dominant paradigm of "Americanization" (Howard, 2008).

America is now province and periphery in a multi-polar world that, commercially speaking at least, has fewer and fewer centres. What the Americanization paradigm ignores is that in order to historically explain the international expansion of particular aesthetic forms and commercial techniques of advertising, it does not matter so much where advertising agencies are physically based, i.e. whether they are either American, or British, or French. What matters are the roles they fulfil within increasingly globalising industrial networks (Faulconbridge, 2010, pp. 11-18). From this perspective, it is less surprising to note that the network dynamics of the industry changed from 1900, when advertising was internationally dominated by agencies in London and Paris, to the 1920s and 1930s, when power dynamics had decisively shifted to New York and Chicago, and then the 1980s and 1990s, when power within this industry network shifted back to a stable equilibrium between London and New York as regards ownership structures, numbers of international creative awards and mobility of personnel. Today, creative hubs like London, New York and Amsterdam are merely nodes in a global network of agencies, clients and media. Among advertising researchers who understood this already twenty years ago was the French sociologist Armand Mattelart (1991, pp. 1-9, 33-37).

Contemporary historians of advertising are therefore likely to benefit from investigating aspects of transnational exchange processes and the factors, which caused the rise of a trans-Atlantic advertising industry structure that commercially and culturally dominated the rest of the globe for such a long time. Historical research of this kind brings into closer focus the question of the geo-political economy of capitalism (Hudson, 2000; McChesney *et al.*, 1998). Advertising and other forms of marketing communications need to be interpreted as cultural-commercial processes that have the ability to bypass national sovereignty of media spaces, change local cultural traditions, and globally create new forms of circulation of lifestyles, imagery and aspirations. Yet in order to analyse the role of advertising as part of these trends, it has to be repositioned by historians with respect to other histories and other industries, such as the growth of a global market research industry, of global media buying, and the global flows of products and images in general. Advertising historians have so far been remarkably reluctant to take their subject to that level of global analysis and tended to stay within the safe Hegelian ground of the nation-state as their preferred unit of historical analysis.

The semiotic paradigm

Of paramount importance for the making of the "modernization" paradigm was the idea that the products of the industry, the advertisements themselves, could tell historians exactly what the industry intended to do with consumers and what the ad-smiths had achieved on their journey to create the modern consciousness. The idea to subject long-runs of magazine and newspaper advertisements to content analysis therefore came as an obvious methodological choice. The problem with this methodology, however, is that it can only produce data with regard to the hypotheses its users decided to develop, but it tends to make its users blind towards the assumptions that went into the hypotheses in the first place. Belk's and Pollay's use of content analysis in their landmark 1985 research study on the content of American

magazine advertisements between 1900 and 1980 for instance showed that advertisers had increasingly drawn on themes of "terminal materialism" which presented consumption of goods as an end in itself. Based on this insight, they contended that "modern consumption lifestyles" – presumably as opposed to pre-modern alternatives – not only existed, but that advertising reinforced them (Belk and Pollay, 1985, p. 895). At no point did the authors discuss the issue that the method of content analysis, while being useful to establish trends and correlations in a positive sense, is unable not to show the advertising of modern lifestyles to be pervasive and ubiquitous. In other words, if one has decided that the consumerism of the "modern age" is markedly different from lifestyles of the pre-modern age, and if one also decides – as most advertising historians do – to focus only on advertisements published after 1900, then the outcomes of the analysis are virtually pre-determined. Kassarjian (1977), and many other researchers who relied on content analysis as their main method, were remarkably successful in their research, because content analysis does not allow for falsification: it tends to produce what one is looking for.

The idea to analyse the content of advertisements, rather than industry structures, professional norms and discourses, and the complexity of the interaction between advertising and consumer, stems from an earlier intellectual desire to show how modernity as an epoch, unlike its supposed predecessors, was characterized by much more powerful and unsettling cultural-economic forces which had the propensity to change people's behaviour, attitudes and opinions. Under the influence of German and French critical philosophers and sociologists Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Roland Barthes, the emerging field of media sociology wedded itself to the analysis of modern forms of mediated communication, like magazine advertisements, posters, television shows and so forth, in order to uncover the structures and processes through which commercial media acquired their powers to persuade. Semiotics became the keyword for this type of intellectual production: it assumed a direct, mono-causal and one-dimensional relationship between the recipient of communication (for example a consumer watching a detergent powder commercial on television), the signifier (foam in the sink, a white piece of linen in the sunshine, a smiling housewife) and the signified (stereotyped gender-roles, family happiness and household solidity that could be purchased when using a particular brand) (Mick *et al.*, 2004, pp. 5-6). Advertising, like all other forms of mediated language in a capitalist system, thus came to be seen as an inauthentic meta-language, and all that advertising historians had to do was to apply Barthian semiological analysis in order to uncover how advertising professionals, in whatever country, century, decade, or product market, achieved their aims. Scepticism, cultural sensitivity, and contextualization, the key elements of historical methodology, became irrelevant – all one had to do was "to read" the ads, for they presented the relationship that emerged between advertising and consumers like an open book (Goldman, 2001, pp. 5-14; Kline and Botterill, 2009; Loeb, 1994, 13-45; Robertson, 2009, 20-53; Soar, 2000; Williamson, 1978).

Once again, the methodological pitfalls of this approach are remarkably obvious and some have already been addressed in the literature (Cook, 2001, pp. 75-6; Francis, 1986; McFall, 2004a, pp. 9-22). Semiotic analysis does not allow for the fact that historians cannot replicate the way people in the past read and understood the advertisements they saw. Unless one follows the nineteenth-century German historian Leopold von Ranke, it is difficult if not impossible to get a full understanding for the

eyes with which a middle-class Chinese consumer in 1920s' Shanghai "saw" a cigarette advertisement. The problem commonly known as the self-reference bias applies to historians, too, and it reminds us that different people from different cultural and social backgrounds literally "see" differently when exposed to advertising communication (Puntoni *et al.*, 2010). Even contemporary marketing researchers, with a full set of laboratory- and social science-based research methods at their disposal, find it complicated to identify precisely the effects that particular advertisements, campaigns and messages have on consumers. Should these interpretative limitations not apply to historians, who often deal with advertising campaigns that were created decades before them?

Content analysis, especially in its semiotic variety, therefore should be used in conjunction with other methods that the historical and social sciences offer. Rather than directly trying to infer from an advertisement how consumers and society were affected and changed by it, it is advisable for historians to use advertisements as sources to understand how advertisers aimed to present their product, in which market segment they wanted to position it, and which visual and textual means they employed over time. Advertisements need to be analysed within a full contextual embedding and with reference to competitor advertising strategies, the tone (i.e. social and political position) of the media vehicle it was found in, with regard to the marketing aims the client prescribed to the agency, and in relation to dominant psychological and advertising strategic models that would have been used by an agency during a specific era (Beard, 2010; Beard and Kluyeva, 2010; Canavan and Laird, 2010; Pope, 2003).

The methodological flaws inherent in the uncontextualized and often casual semiotic analysis of advertisements that can still be found in the historiography actually undermine critical historical research. Despite its pretensions to intellectual critique, much of the semiotic literature merely confirmed and indeed bolstered the myths that the advertising industry had created around itself, namely that of the "powerful persuaders" and "image-makers" (Meyers, 1984) who could change markets and consumers by making them "modern". Little attention was being paid to the problem that advertisements are representations and social constructions that circulate in different forms and at a number of levels. Advertisements merely represent what advertisers thought about their target groups; they do not so much represent socially and culturally shared norms but the norms that are shared among the profession and negotiated within a complex economic network that includes media, clients, competitors, regulators, and of course consumers. When analysing advertisements, historians need to be aware that agencies often create campaigns that please their clients and flatter them; campaigns that adhere to industry-wide norms; campaigns that are likely to win creative awards rather than boost sales; and campaigns that fit into the norms of an advertising medium, like a particular magazine or a television channel (Cronin, 2004, pp. 57-64; 2010, pp. 23-35; Hackley and Kover, 2007; Malefyt, 2003).

These flaws, however, should not distract from the fact that carefully conducted and methodologically sound content analysis, for example as presented by Leiss *et al.* (2005) and Richards *et al.* (2000), can yield remarkably important results. Leiss and his collaborators found that over the course of the twentieth century, advertisements tended to use fewer words and rely more on imagery. In addition, the group found that advertisements went through four stages, at which different aspects (functional or

social) and benefits (intrinsic or peripheral) of a product were communicated to the consumer. In general, advertisements between the 1880s and the 1920s tended to be rather wordy and stressed the use-value of a product. During the interwar years, advertisements shifted their focus away from the utility of a product and often presented it as a social icon, as a symbol for social status and position. From the 1940s, advertisements often personalized a product by connecting it to a famous actor or a well-known member of the social elite. This social-symbolic connection infused the product with glamour and individual romance. From the 1970s, advertisements increasingly signalled the lifestyle-setting which a particular product or brands was supposed to be associated with (Leiss *et al.*, 2005, pp. 153-217). Similarly well-designed was Pollay's, 1985 descriptive history of American print advertising between 1900 and 1980 (Pollay, 1985), in which he established that late twentieth-century American advertisements once again focussed on product attributes in the same way as had been the norm at the beginning of that century.

My criticism of content analysis above should therefore not be read as a wholesale rejection of the use of pictorial sources in advertising history. These sources are vital for most historians and they do not have to lead to a commitment to paradigms of "modernity" and "modernization". Nor have all advertising researchers taken visual sources at face value. By socially and ideologically contextualizing their interpretation of advertising imagery, authors like Tawnya Adkins-Covert (2011) and Linda Scott (2005) have shown for example how our understanding of the changing roles of women in twentieth-century society can be enhanced through the analysis of commercial and governmental advertising campaigns.

New directions

After the enormous interest shown by historians and marketing scholars in the history of advertising during the 1980s and 1990s in particular, the subject now attracts considerably less attention. The reasons for this slow but steady decline are manifold. Increasingly, advertising historical research conducted in media studies, journalism and sociology departments is committed to case studies which make it difficult to draw conclusions about long-term historical developments (Gale and Kreshel, 2006). Advertising historians working at history departments, in turn, have largely failed to update their use of sociological and marketing theory. Although there is renewed interest in advertising historical research among sociologists associated with Actor-Network Theory, like Franck Cochoy (1998) and Liz McFall (2004a), this interest has arguably not been able to draw on much work published by mainstream historians. Equally, marketing theoreticians who have become more interested in historical analysis in general have paid little attention to advertising history, a conclusion which once again raises questions about the value of the subject *per se*.

The editors of the *Journal of Advertising*, the *International Journal of Advertising*, and Linda Scott's and William O'Barr's work at the online journal *Advertising & Society Review* all deserve praise for keeping the subject area alive by publishing outstanding contributions to advertising historical research (Fay, 2003; Gennaro, 2009; Witkowski, 2003). Yet this work cannot distract from the fact that the number of articles devoted to advertising history in the major business and economic history journals has dropped to a very low level during the last decade in particular. The rise and subsequent decline in interest in advertising history over the three decades between 1980 and 2010 should

not come as a surprise, though. Advertising as a form of marketing communications is gradually being replaced by more relationship-oriented and more interactive forms of communication with consumers. Reflecting this shift, historical research now tends to focus much more on the history of branding (Eckhardt, 2010; Fullerton and Low, 1994; da Silva Lopes and Casson, 2007; da Silva Lopes and Duguid, 2010). The history of public relations is now also experiencing a sharp increase in scholarly interest after Richard Tedlow's lone foray into the field as far back as 1979 (Anthony, 2010; Bird, 1999; L'Etang, 2008; Marchand, 1998; Miller, 1999; Tedlow, 1979)[6].

In order to revitalize their subject, advertising historians thus need to realize that the advertising industry's structure has changed, and so have the advertising industry's view of itself, its practices, and advertising theories and models. Some recent work already signals a new interest in the historicizing of advertising models, which in marketing classes are all too often taught in an a-historical fashion (Beard, 2004; Schwarzkopf, 2009). Historians need to see advertising not only in relation to individual consumer wealth and well-being, as has become standard in much of the research published today, but as part of a wider picture that largely functions at a global level and which is more than ever entangled in questions of global governance, national sovereignty, sustainable growth and social justice. In order to foster interest among the wider scholarly community in the history of advertising, I argue that historians, sociologists, and marketing theoreticians need to tackle various challenges, which include the philosophy of history and the sociology of knowledge that underpins their work, the economic sociology of the advertising industry, the post-colonial turn, and the issue of industry regulation.

Most important among these challenges, I argue, are the elements of Hegelian philosophy of history still remnant in advertising historiography. Advertising historians will do well by engaging more closely with Hayden White's sceptical investigations into the often teleological narratives and paradigms that the craft of writing history tends to rely on and reproduce (White, 1987). Rather than privileging a supposedly "modern era" in advertising production, more integrative analyses of medieval, early-modern and contemporary advertising communications are needed in order to study how the relationship between markets and society changed over time. This is directly related to the second challenge that advertising historians face today, namely to acknowledge to a greater extent the perspective of the consumer on all forms of commercial exchange (Trentmann, 2004). Instead of assuming a dyadic and passive relationship between advertisements and consumers, historians need to take the question of what consumers actually do with advertising far more seriously and pay far more attention to the complex relationships that emerge between advertising, collectively-shared meanings, consumers and their everyday life (Hackley, 2009; Kelly *et al.*, 2005; O'Donohoe, 2001). Through that angle, sociologically more reflective models of advertising production would begin to actually have an impact on historical research, an imperative that constitutes the third challenge. This challenge has in part been met by sociologists and organizational anthropologists like Brian Moeran, Timothy de Waal Malefyt and Sean Nixon, who conducted important ethnographic studies into the communication structures of advertising professionals (Malefyt, 2003; Moeran, 1996; Nixon, 2003).

The fourth challenge is presented by the post-colonial agenda, which is now increasingly pursued in marketing and advertising theory (Jack, 2008). Some

historians have already responded to that challenge and produced fascinating work on advertising to, but also by, Afro-Americans and its influence on the white, middle-class "mainstream" in the United States (Chambers, 2009; DaCosta, forthcoming; Mehaffy, 1997). Historians like David Ciarlo (2011) and Anandi Ramamurthy (2003) have developed their work in this direction and reminded us of the fact that the non-European "Other" was always present in the advertising produced by the predominantly white and middle-class advertising profession in Europe and North America, but that its representations and meanings changed over time. This work can very fruitfully be extended by looking more closely at advertising industry structures and aesthetics outside the North American-West European hemisphere, and about which we still know virtually nothing. Important exceptions are Zhao and Belk (2008), Gardner (2006), Haynes (2010), Patterson (2003) and West (1995), whose work has investigated the emergence of advertising and an accompanying industry in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century China, Japan, India, and Imperial Russia, and in the socialist economy of Yugoslavia after 1950, respectively. This assessment, in turn, constitutes the fifth challenge, which calls on historians to investigate the economic and business history of advertising not in terms of "Americanization", but in terms of global network dynamics in order to explain more precisely the relationship between capitalism, global media, and advertising creation.

Both marketing scholarship and business history have been transformed by the rise of the corporate social responsibility and the sustainability agenda in business and management studies in general. As part of this transformation, advertising history faces the challenge to establish itself as a major area to study the success and failure of specific regulatory measures as regards the suspected influence of advertising on consumer well-being, and the relationship of the advertising industry to the ways societies chose to organize the consumption of foods, alcohol, cigarettes, entertainment media like video games, and financial products such as mortgages. This means, however, that the field as a whole has to treat archival research and the analysis of primary sources regarding the history of consumer behaviour, market signals and regulatory regimes much more seriously. In this respect, Pamela Kinnock's study on the politics of alcohol and tobacco marketing and Richard Pollay's work on advertising self-regulation and the tobacco industry in the United States are outstanding in their combination of original historical research with social policy analysis regarding the effectiveness or otherwise of particular regulatory measures (Kinnock, 2007; Pollay and Lavack, 1992; Pollay, 1992).

Specifically, more historical research is needed into the reasons why politics and society still seem to favour the advertising industry's approach to self-regulation, despite the overwhelming evidence on the deleterious impact of specific marketing communication messages on individual self-control, young people's body image, and consumer spending in sections of society that are financially most vulnerable (Drumwright and Murphy, 2009). In their search for meaning and ideology in advertising, historians might therefore usefully shift their focus away from studying advertisements and instead investigate the ideological structures of the industry itself.

Conclusions

The history of advertising, arguably one of the most exiting and stimulating research fields of the 1980s and 1990s, is in acute danger of losing the sizzle that once

surrounded this subject. The reasons for this are to be found, firstly, in the adherence particularly of the historians in this field to a Hegelian philosophy of history that privileges "modernity" as a new "stage" in the development of humanity. This view undermines a coherent, integrative and theory-led analysis of the history of commercial communication over the last centuries *en totale* and *en longue durée* (Braudel and Armand, 1987). Secondly, advertising historical research has unnecessarily limited itself to the semiotic variant of content analysis of advertisements as the dominant methodological approach of reading and understanding advertising communication. This dominance is now challenged by more nuanced and reflective research methods, including the tools of economic sociology like network analysis and Actor-Network Theory, business ethnography, and the post-colonial approach pioneered in cultural studies. By increasing the variety of methodological and theoretical approaches to their subject, and by venturing more boldly into researching the development of advertising communication outside the North-American and West-European hemispheres, advertising historical research will continue to make important contributions to our understanding of globalization, marketing and consumer society.

Notes

1. Advertising Age is the eponymous title of a trade journal, launched in Chicago in 1930, which today is regarded as the most important periodical for advertising professionals across the globe.
2. Hence, the recent re-discovery by some marketing scholars that marketing has a history will leave most historians puzzled, especially those who, like Roy Church, Peter Scott, Richard Tedlow, Roland Marchand, John Benson, Gareth Shaw, Robert Fitzgerald, Tony Corley, Geoffrey Jones, and many others, have studied the historical development of advertising, public relations, brand-building, salesmanship and retailing from at least the early 1980s. See Fitzgerald (2008), and Blaszczyk (2009) for an overview of the literature.
3. *The History of Advertising* (40 volumes), Garland Publications: New York, 1985.
4. The modernist bias, and the virtual exclusion of nineteenth-century source material, has now infiltrated many other areas of marketing history closely connected to advertising. See for example Berghoff (2007), Friedman (2004) and Tedlow (1990). An exception is the work of Roy Church (1999).
5. For a critical analysis of the idea of a "creative revolution" see McFall (2004b) and Schwarzkopf (2008).
6. Tom Watson of the University of Bournemouth now organises regular workshops on the history of the PR industry, with conference papers appearing in special issues in the Journal of Communication Management.

References

Adkins-Covert, T.J. (2011), *Manipulating Images: World War II Mobilization of Women through Magazine Advertising*, Lexington Books, Lanham, MD.

Anthony, S. (2010), *Public Relations and the Making of Modern Britain: Stephen Tallents and the Birth of a Progressive Media Profession*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Arvidsson, A. (2003), *Marketing Modernity: Italian Advertising from Fascism to Postmodernity*, Routledge, London.

Beard, F. (2010), "Expand+Comparative advertising wars: an historical analysis of their causes and consequences", *Journal of Macromaketing*, Vol. 30 No. 3, pp. 270-86.

Beard, F. and Kluyeva, A. (2010), "George Washington Hill and the 'Reach for a Lucky …' campaign", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 2 No. 2, pp. 148-65.

Beard, F.K. (2004), "Hard-sell 'killers' and soft-sell 'poets': modern advertising's enduring message strategy debate", *Journalism History*, Vol. 30 No. 3, pp. 141-9.

Belk, R. and Pollay, R. (1985), "Images of ourselves: the good life in twentieth-century magazine advertising", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 11 No. 4, pp. 887-97.

Berg, M. and Clifford, H. (2007), "Selling consumption in the eighteenth century: advertising and the trade card in Britain and France", *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 4 No. 2, pp. 145-70.

Berghoff, H. (2007), "Marketing im 20. Jahrhundert: Absatzinstrument – Managementphilosophie – universelle Sozialtechnik", in Berghoff, H. (Ed.), *Marketinggeschichte: die Genese einer modernen Sozialtechnik*, Campus, Frankfurt, pp. 11-58.

Bernheim, E. (1908), *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie*, Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig.

Bird, W.S. (1999), *Better Living: Advertising, Media and the New Vocabulary of Business Leadership, 1935-1955*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, IL.

Blaszczyk, R.L. (2009), *American Consumer Society, 1865-2005*, Harlan Davidson, Wheeling, IL.

Braudel, F. and Armand, C. (1987), "Histoire et sciences sociales: la longue durée", *Réseaux*, Vol. 5 No. 27, pp. 7-37.

Broberg, O., Sjoblom, G. and Axelsson, A.S. (2011), "Both network and market: entrepreneurial strategies in digital advertising", paper presented at the Svenska Historikermötet, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, May.

Canavan, C. and Laird, P.W. (2010), "Advertising and the rise of big business", *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History*, Vol. 24 No. 1, pp. 41-6.

Chambers, J. (2009), *Madison Avenue and the ColorLline: African Americans in the Advertising Industry*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, PA.

Church, R. (1999), "New perspectives on the history of products, firms, marketing, and consumers in Britain and the United States since the mid-nineteenth century", *Economic History Review*, Vol. 52 No. 3, pp. 405-35.

Ciarlo, D. (2011), *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Cochoy, F. (1998), "Another discipline for the market economy: marketing as a performative knowledge and know-how for capitalism", in Callon, M. (Ed.), *The Laws of the Markets*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 194-221.

Cook, G. (2001), *The Discourse of Advertising*, 2nd ed., Routledge, London.

Cronin, A.M. (2004), *Advertising, Commercial Spaces and the Urban*, Palgrave, Basingstoke.

Cronin, A.M. (2010), *Advertising Myths: The Strange Half-Lives of Images and Commodities*, Routledge, London.

Cruikshank, J.L. and Schultz, A.W. (2010), *The Man Who Sold America: The Amazing (But True!) Story of Albert D. Lasker and the Creation of the Advertising Century*, Harvard Business School Press, Boston, MA.

da Silva Lopes, T. and Casson, M. (2007), "Entrepreneurship and the development of global brands", *Business History Review*, Vol. 81, Winter, pp. 651-80.

da Silva Lopes, T. and Duguid, P. (Eds) (2010), *Trademarks, Brands and Competitiveness*, Routledge, London.

DaCosta, K. (forthcoming), *Black Magic: African American Advertising, Symbolic Boundaries, and the Making of Inequality*, Consumption, Markets and Culture.

Davis, S.W. (2006), *Living up to the Ads: Gender Fictions in the 1920s*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

de Grazia, V. (2005), *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe*, Belknap Press, Cambridge, MA.

de Grazia, V. (2007), "Foreword", in Swett, P. *et al.* (Eds), *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-century Germany*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC, pp. xiii-xviii.

De Iulio, S. and Vinti, C. (2009), "The Americanization of Italian advertising during the 1950s and 1960s: mediations, conflicts and appropriations", *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, Vol. 1 No. 2, pp. 270-94.

Drumwright, M.E. and Murphy, P.E. (2009), "The current state of advertising ethics", *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 38 No. 1, pp. 83-107.

Eckhardt, G.M. (2010), "A brief history of branding in China", *Journal of Macromarketing*, Vol. 30 No. 3, pp. 210-21.

Ewen, S. (1976), *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*, McGraw Hill, New York, NY.

Faulconbridge, J.R. (2010), *The Globalization of Advertising: Agencies, Cities and Spaces of Creativity*, Routledge, London.

Fay, M. (2003), "A 50-year longitudinal study of changes in the content and form of food advertising in New Zealand magazines", *International Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 22 No. 1, pp. 67-91.

Fitzgerald, R. (2008), "Marketing and distribution", in Jones, G. and Zeitlin, J. (Eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Business History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 396-419.

Fletcher, W. (2008), *Powers of Persuasion: The Inside Story of British Advertising*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Fones-Wolf, E. (1994), *Selling Free Enterprise: The Business Assault on Labor and Liberalism, 1945-1960*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, IL.

Fox, S. (1984), *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators*, Marrow, New York, NY.

Francis, D. (1986), "Advertising and structuralism: the myth of formality", *International Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 5 No. 3, pp. 197-214.

Frank, T. (1997), *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counter-Culture and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, IL.

Friedman, W. (2004), *The Birth of A Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in America*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Fullerton, R. and Low, G. (1994), "Brands, brand management, and the brand manager system: a critical-historical evaluation", *Journal of Marketing Research*, Vol. 31 No. 2, pp. 173-90.

Gale, K. and Kreshel, P. (2006), "Making a case for the case study in the advertising curriculum", *Journal of Advertising Education*, Vol. 10 No. 2, pp. 13-21.

Gardner, W.O. (2006), *Advertising Tower: Japanese Modernism and Modernity in the 1920s*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Gennaro, S. (2009), "J. Walter Thompson and the creation of the modern advertising agency", *Advertising & Society Review*, Vol. 10 No. 3, available at: http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/advertising_and_society_review

Goldman, R. (2001), *Reading Ads Socially*, Routledge, London.

Grabher, G. (2001), "Ecologies of creativity: the village, the group, and the heterarchic organisation of the British advertising industry", *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 33 No. 2, pp. 351-74.

Hackley, C. (2009), "Theorizing advertising: managerial, scientific, and cultural approaches", in Maclaren, P. *et al.* (Eds), *The Sage Handbook of Marketing Theory*, Sage, London, pp. 89-107.

Hackley, C. and Kover, A.J. (2007), "The trouble with creatives: negotiating creative identity in advertising agencies", *International Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 26 No. 1, pp. 63-78.

Haynes, D. (2010), "Creating the consumer? Advertising, capitalism and the middle classes in urban Western india, 1914-1940", in Haynes, D. *et al.* (Eds), *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 256-89.

Hegel, G.F.W. (1969) in Nicolin, F. and Pöggeler, O. (Eds), *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse*, Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, (originally published in 1830).

Hegel, .F.W. (1985), *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte. Theorie Werkausgabe*, Vol. 12, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt, (originally published in 1830).

Hoganson, K. (2006), "Stuff it: domestic consumption and the Americanization of the world paradigm", *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 30 No. 4, pp. 571-94.

Howard, S. (2008), "The advertising industry and alcohol in interwar France", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 51 No. 2, pp. 421-55.

Howell, M.C. and Prevenier, W. (2001), *From Reliable Sources: An introduction To Historical Methods*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

Hower, R. (1939), *The History of An Advertising Agency: N.W. Ayer At Work, 1869-1939*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Hudson, A. (2000), "Offshoreness, globalization and sovereignty: a postmodern geo-political economy?", *Transactions of the institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 25 No. 3, pp. 269-83.

Jack, G. (2008), "Postcolonialism and marketing", in Tadajewski, M. and Brownlie, D. (Eds), *Critical Marketing: Contemporary Issues in Marketing*, John Wiley, Chichester, pp. 367-87.

Johnson, S. (1759), "The art of advertising exemplified, Idler, No. 40, January 20 1759", *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, Vol. 2, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, pp. 124-8.

Kassarjian, H.H. (1977), "Content analysis in consumer research", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 4 No. 1, pp. 8-18.

Kelly, A., Lawlor, K. and O'Donohoe, S. (2005), "Encoding advertisements: the creative perspective", *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 21 Nos 5/6, pp. 505-28.

Keyes, C.R. (2008), "Early American advertising: marketing and consumer culture in eighteenth-century Philadelphia", PhD thesis, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD.

Kinnock, P.E. (2007), *Advertising Sin and Sickness: The Politics of Alcohol and Tobacco Marketing, 1950-1990*, Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb, IL.

Kline, S. and Botterill, J. (2009), "The privileged discourse: advertising as an interpretive key to the consumer culture", in Howells, R. and Matson, R.W. (Eds), *Using Visual Evidence*, Open University Press, Maidenhead, pp. 170-94.

Kreshel, P. (1990), "John B. Watson at J. Walter Thompson: the legitimation of 'science' in advertising", *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 19 No. 2, pp. 49-59.

L'Etang, J. (2008), "Writing PR history: issues, methods and politics", *Journal of Communication Management*, Vol. 12 No. 4, pp. 319-35.

Laird, P.W. (1998), *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.

Leachman, H.B. (1950), *The Early Advertising Scene*, H.B. Leachman, Wood Dale, IL.

Lears, T.J.J. (1983), "From salvation to self-realization: advertising and the therapeutic roots of consumer culture, 1880-1930", in Fox, R.W. and Lears, T.J.J. (Eds), *The Culture of Consumption*, Pantheon, New York, NY, pp. 3-38.

Lears, T.J.J. (1994), *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*, Basic Books, New York, NY.

Leiss, W., Klein, S., Botterill, J. and Jhally, S. (2005), *Social Communication in Advertising: Consumption in the Mediated Marketplace*, Routledge, London.

Loeb, L.A. (1994), *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

McChesney, R.W., Wood, E.M. and Foster, J.B. (1998), *Capitalism and the information Age: The Political Economy of the Global Communication Revolution*, Monthly Review Press, New York, NY.

McFall, L. (2004a), *Advertising: A Cultural Economy*, Sage, London.

McFall, L. (2004b), "The language of the walls: putting promotional saturation in historical context", *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, Vol. 7 No. 2, pp. 107-28.

Malefyt, T.D. (2003), "Models, metaphors and client relations: the negotiated meanings of advertising", in Morean, B. and Malefyt, T.D. (Eds), *Advertising Cultures*, Berg, Oxford, pp. 139-63.

Marchand, R. (1985), *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Marchand, R. (1998), *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Mattelart, A. (1991), *Advertising International: The Privatisation of Public Space*, Routledge, London.

Mehaffy, M.M. (1997), "Advertising race/raceing advertising: the feminine consumer(-nation), 1876-1900", *Signs*, Vol. 23, pp. 131-74.

Meyers, W. (1984), *The Image-Makers: Secrets of Successful Advertising*, Time Books, New York, NY.

Mick, D.G. (2004), "Pursuing the meaning of meaning in the commercial world: an international review of marketing and consumer research founded on semiotics", *Semiotica*, Vol. 152 Nos 1-4, pp. 1-74.

Miller, K.S. (1999), *The Voice of Business: Hill & Knowlton and Postwar Public Relations*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Moeran, B. (1996), *A Japanese Advertising Agency*, University of Hawaii Press, Honululu, HI.

Nevett, T. (1977), "London's early advertising agents", *Journal of Advertising History*, Vol. 1, pp. 15-17.

Nevett, T. (1982), *Advertising in Britain: A History*, Heinemann, London.

Nixon, S. (2003), *Advertising Cultures: Gender and Creativity At Work in Advertising*, Sage, London.

O'Donohoe, S. (2001), "Living with ambivalence: attitudes to advertising in postmodern times", *Marketing Theory*, Vol. 1 No. 1, pp. 91-108.

Parkin, K. (2006), *Food Is Love: Food Advertising and Gender Roles in Modern America*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, PA.

Patterson, P.H. (2003), "Truth half told: finding the perfect pitch for advertising and marketing in socialist Yugoslavia, 1950-1991", *Enterprise & Society*, Vol. 4 No. 2, pp. 179-225.

Pincas, S. and Loiseau, M. (2006), *Born in 1842: A History of Advertising*, Mundocom, Paris.

Pollay, R.W. (1978), "Wanted: a history of advertising", *Journal of Advertising Research*, Vol. 18 No. 5, pp. 63-8.

Pollay, R.W. (Ed.) (1979), *Information Sources in Advertising History*, Greenwood Press, Riverside, CT.

Pollay, R.W. (1985), "The subsiding sizzle: shifting strategies in print advertising, 1900-1980", *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 49 No. 3, pp. 24-37.

Pollay, R.W. (1986), "The distorted mirror: reflections on the unintended consequences of advertising", *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 50 No. 1, pp. 18-36.

Pollay, R.W. (1992), "Promises, promises: self-regulation of US cigarette broadcast advertising in the 1960s", *Tobacco Control*, Vol. 3 No. 2, pp. 134-44.

Pollay, R.W. and Lavack, A.M. (1993), "The targeting of youth by cigarette marketers: archival evidence on trial'", in McAlister, L. and Rothschild, M.L. (Eds), *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 20, Association for Consumer Research, Provo, UT, pp. 266-71.

Pope, D. (1983), *The Making of Modern Advertising*, Basic Books, New York, NY.

Pope, D. (2003), "Making sense of advertisements", in Making Sense of Evidence series on History Matters: The US Survey on the Web, http://historymatters.gmu.edu (accessed 25 January 2008).

Presbrey, F. (1929), *The History and Development of Advertising*, Doubleday, New York, NY.

Puntoni, S., Schroeder, J. and Ritson, M. (2010), "Meaning matters", *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 39 No. 2, pp. 51-64.

Raines, J. (Ed.) (2002), *Marx on Religion*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, PA.

Ramamurthy, A. (2003), *Imperial Persuaders: Images of African and Asia in British Advertising*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Reid, L.N., King, K.W. and DeLorme, D.E. (1998), "Top-level agency creatives look at advertising creativity then and now", *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 27 No. 2, pp. 1-16.

Richards, B., MacRury, I. and Botterill, J. (2000), *The Dynamics of Advertising*, Harwood, Amsterdam.

Richards, T. (1991), *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

Robertson, E. (2009), *Chocolate, Women and Empire: A Social and Cultural History*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Roman, K. (2009), *The King of Madison Avenue: David Ogilvy and the Making of Modern Advertising*, Palgrave, London.

Sampson, H. (1874), *A History of Advertising From the Earliest Times: Illustrated By Anecdotes and Biographical Notes*, Chatto & Windus, London.

Scanlon, J. (1995), *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture*, Routledge, New York, NY.

Schorman, R. (2010), "'This astounding car for $1,500': the year automobile advertising came of age", *Enterprise & Society*, Vol. 11 No. 3, pp. 468-523.

Schröter, H.G. (1998), "Advertising in West Germany after World War II. A Case of an Americanization", *Entreprises & Histoire*, Vol. 19, October, pp. 15-33.

Schudson, M. (1984), *Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion: Its Dubious Impact On American Society*, Basic Books, New York, NY.

Schug, A. (2005), "Missionare der globalen Konsumkultur: Corporate Identity und Absatzstrategien amerikanischer Unternehmen in Deutschland im frühen 20. Jahrhundert", in Hardtwig, W. (Ed.), *Politische Kulturgeschichte der Zwischenkriegszeit 1918-1939*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, pp. 307-42.

Schwarzkopf, S. (2005), "They do it with mirrors: advertising and British Cold War consumer politics", *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 19 No. 2, pp. 133-50.

Schwarzkopf, S. (2007a), "Who said 'Americanization'? The case of twentieth-century advertising and mass marketing from a British perspective", in Gienow-Hecht, J. (Ed.), *Decentering America: New Directions in Culture and International History*, Berghahn Books, New York, NY, pp. 33-100.

Schwarzkopf, S. (2007b), "Transatlantic invasions or common culture? Modes of cultural and economic exchange between the American and the British advertising industries, 1951-1989", in Hampton, M. and Wiener, J. (Eds), *Anglo-American Media interactions, 1850-2000*, Palgrave, London, pp. 254-74.

Schwarzkopf, S. (2008), "Creativity, capital and tacit knowledge: the Crawford agency and British advertising in the interwar years", *Journal of Cultural Economy*, Vol. 1 No. 2, pp. 181-97.

Schwarzkopf, S. (2009), "What was advertising? The invention, rise, demise, and disappearance of advertising concepts in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe and America", *Business and Economic History Online*, Vol. 7, available at: www.h-net.org

Scott, L.M. (2005), *Fresh Lipstick: Redressing Fashion and Feminism*, Palgrave, New York, NY.

Soar, M. (2000), "Encoding advertisements: ideology and meaning in advertising production", *Mass Communication and Society*, Vol. 3, January, pp. 415-37.

Stole, I.L. (2006), *Advertising on Trial: Consumer Activism and Corporate Public Relations in The 1930*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, IL.

Stoltzfus, D.C.S. (2007), *Freedom From Advertising: E.W. Scripps's Chicago Experiment*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, IL.

Strasser, S. (2004), *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market*, Smithsonian Books, Washington, DC.

Sutton, D.H. (2009), *Globalizing Ideal Beauty: How Female Copywriters of the J. Walter Thompson Agency Redefined Beauty for the Twentieth Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY.

Swett, P., Wiesen, S.J. and Zatlin, J.R. (2007), *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-century Germany*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

Tedlow, R. (1990), *New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America*, Heinemann, Oxford.

Tedlow, R.S. (1979), *Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business, 1900-1950*, JAI Press, Greenwich, CT.

Trentmann, F. (2004), "Beyond consumerism: new historical perspectives on consumption", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 39 No. 3, pp. 373-401.

Tungate, M. (2007), *Ad-Land: A Global History of Advertising*, Kogan Page, London.

Turner, E.S. (1952), *The Shocking History of Advertising!*, Michael Joseph, London.

West, S. (1995), "Constructing consumer culture: advertising in Imperial Russia to 1914", PhD thesis, University of Illinois, Chicago, IL.

White, H. (1987), *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.

Wigelsworth, J. (2010), *Selling Science in the Age of Newton: Advertising and the Commodification of Knowledge*, Ashgate, Aldershot.

Williamson, J. (1978), *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*, Marion Boyars, London.

Witkowski, T.H. (2003), "Word War II poster campaigns: preaching frugality to American consumers", *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 32 No. 1, pp. 69-82.

Wood, J.P. (1958), *The Story of Advertising*, Ronald Press, New York, NY.

Woodruff, J.F. (1979), "The allusions in Johnson's 'Idler' no. 40", *Modern Philology*, Vol. 76 No. 4, pp. 380-9.

WPP (2011), "WPP fast facts", available at: www.wpp.com/NR/rdonlyres/4C57C126-254B-42A6-9ACF-07DD591AF6C9/0/wpp_fast_facts_mar_11.pdf (accessed June 12, 2011).

Zhao, X. and Belk, R. (2008), "Advertising consumer culture in 1930s Shanghai", *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 37 No. 2, pp. 45-56.

About the author

Stefan Schwarzkopf is Associate Professor of Business History at Copenhagen Business School. He has published widely on the history of advertising, the emergence of a marketing ideology, and the historical-political development of market and consumer research. His publications have appeared in *Contemporary British History, Management & Organizational History, the Journal of Cultural Economy, the Journal of Macromarketing*, and *Theory, Culture & Society*. He is currently working on a monograph on the history and global entanglement of the British advertising industry from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century. Stefan Schwarzkopf can be contacted at: ssc.lpf@cbs.dk